

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Relief Issue Again Raised in Congress

President's Proposal for Billion and a Half Appropriation Meets Opposition

### ARGUMENTS ARE NUMEROUS

Debates Hinge on Size of Relief Funds and Proper Method of Distribution and Administration

One who listens to debates in Congress these days, or who reads the *Congressional Record*, is not likely to be greatly excited or inspired by what he hears and reads. The House of Representatives has been debating the relief problem, but the speeches in the main have been uninteresting and undistinguished. By no stretch of the imagination can this be called a great debate. On the surface it appears to be concerned with questions which are technical or which at least are administrative in nature. How much shall be appropriated to relieve the unemployed? How shall the money be used? Who shall decide what projects shall be carried on?

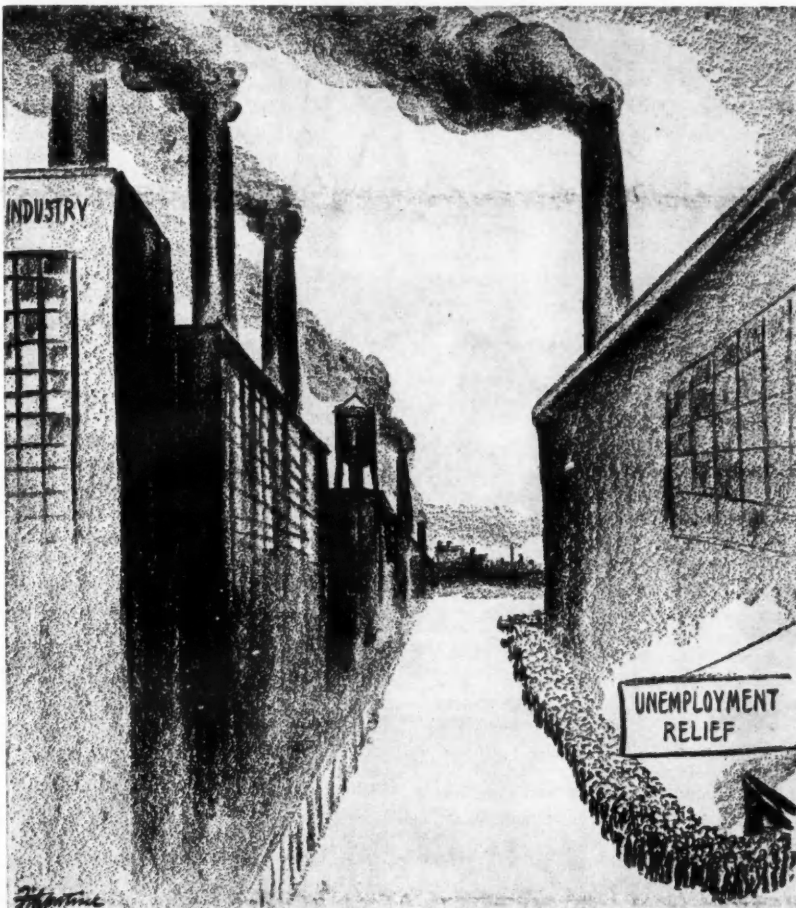
#### The President's Program

These are the questions which have been under consideration in the House and which will be debated in the Senate now that the President's plan has passed the House. But while they may not seem at first appraisal to be of fundamental importance, they are concerned nevertheless with large questions of governmental policy. They strike deeply into the very complex problem of relief which has been such a source of difficulty and vexation during the last four or five years and which gives every indication of being relatively permanent in nature.

The President has put his program before Congress. He wants a billion and a half dollars appropriated for the year which begins the first of July. According to the President's plan, this money is to be spent under his direction. It is not to be expected, though, that he will personally supervise the spending of it, but it is to be used by the relief agencies which have been set up. The President, under the terms of his plan, may use part of the money for the Resettlement Administration, or for housing projects. The greater part of it, however, would undoubtedly be distributed through the WPA.

If the President's plan is adopted, local communities will decide, as they have been deciding, what projects they wish to be carried out with the help of the federal government. The state boards will continue to accept such projects and pass them on for final approval to the Washington office of the Works Progress Administration. When the projects have been approved, federal money will flow into the local communities as it has been flowing for the purpose of carrying on these projects. It will be spent to build schoolhouses, or to erect dams, or to build playgrounds or swimming pools, to widen streets or build roads. People who are able to work but who cannot find jobs in private industry will be hired to work on these projects. They will be given about as much per hour as people are getting at similar kinds of work in private industry, but they will work a fewer number of hours each month. These relief workers will probably continue to get from \$35 a month to \$85 a month, depending

(Concluded on page 8)



BOTH GOING STRONG

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

## The Use of a First-Rate Mind

It is tragic and wasteful to use a first-rate mind as if it were second rate. Yet that is what many people do. Endowed by nature with mental powers fit to grapple with fundamental problems, they are content to skim casually over superficial issues, spending their time with nonessentials or with surface manifestations of challenging subjects. Perhaps this inattention to difficult and fundamental problems is a result of mental laziness or inertia. Or it may be a product of habit. People who are energetic and ambitious enough may get into grooves or ruts out of which it is difficult to emerge. They spend themselves in trivial undertakings, failing to see the possibility of endeavor in larger fields.

If one bestirs himself to look about for problems which will put his intellectual powers to a test, he will soon meet his challenge. The people of Germany are today in need of thinking their way through a fundamental issue. They are obliged to inquire into the nature of Christianity and to determine whether or not it is compatible with the dominant political philosophy of their nation. That issue is outlined in another column of this paper. And it would not be a waste of time if we in America should give more thought than most of us do to the nature and implications of Christian teaching. We are so much inclined to give lip service to an ideal without inquiring definitely and concretely into the meaning of the ideal. Not only might we do a little clear thinking about Christianity, but we might turn with penetrating analysis upon democracy. What does it mean? To what extent do we enjoy it in America? To what extent do we deny or thwart it? What changes, if any, in customary procedures would follow the establishment of democracy in industry; in social relations; in the treatment of racial problems? Then there is the question of liberty. The term is bandied about a great deal these days. But what does one mean by liberty? To what extent is it attainable or desirable in modern society? And what about freedom of speech or of the press? What do we mean by those concepts?

What we have in mind in suggesting the thoughtful consideration of such problems, is not mere casual discussion of them, but ventures of a philosophical nature; the sort of thinking Plato does, for example, in his analysis of the concept of justice. We aren't Platos, of course, and cannot be expected to match his intellectual achievements. But we may at least follow the philosophical method. We can do it without becoming involved in technical terms. Plato, after all, spoke simply and clearly. Concentrated attention focussed upon fundamentals, coupled with honesty and clarity of thinking—these are possibilities within the range of the ordinary intelligent individual. If larger numbers were awakened to these possibilities, what would it not mean in terms of individual achievement and social progress!

## Nazis Face Domestic And Foreign Crises

Situation in Spain Becomes Acute as Religious Issue at Home Takes Serious Turn

### BITTER RELIGIOUS WAR SEEN

New Drive Begun on Catholic Church in Effort to Eliminate All Opposition to Regime

Early in the morning of May 31st, the day on which we in America were commemorating our soldier dead, five German warships appeared at the port of Almeria, Spain, and without warning opened fire upon the city. A number of houses and stores were destroyed. Men, women, and children were killed or wounded. A coast battery replied, doing damage to some of the German ships. After the bombardment had proceeded for a while, the vessels departed, leaving wreckage, death, pain, sorrow behind.

Was this the first act in the great war which has long threatened the peace of Europe and the world? Was the Spanish war at last growing into a general war which would engulf all the great nations? Perhaps not. This is not the first time that German armed forces have taken part in the Spanish conflict. Germans and Italians and Russians and subjects of other nations for many months have fought, have inflicted death, and have died in war-torn Spain. All this time, however, the danger that war might spread has been imminent. There has always been the possibility that an unfortunate incident involving certain of the great powers might lead to an explosion. This latest incident clearly carried with it tragic possibilities and, as we go to press, no one can predict what the immediate developments will be.

#### New Tension

The bloody affair at Almeria was an act of revenge. The day before it occurred, Spanish planes had dropped bombs on the German battleship *Deutschland*, which was patrolling Spanish waters. This was one of the famous "pocket" battleships which Germany built during the period when she was obeying the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. She was required by the treaty to build no warship larger than 10,000 tons, so she designed a few small but very powerful and tremendously efficient vessels of the 10,000-ton class. They were called "pocket" battleships, and the *Deutschland* was one of them. The bombs from the Spanish planes killed a number of German sailors and seriously damaged the ship. The reason for the air attack is not clear. The Spaniards claim that the *Deutschland* had fired on their planes and that their attack was in self-defense or retaliation. The Germans claim that the attack was unprovoked.

But why was this German war vessel cruising in the war zone? That question gets us back to the arrangement which had been entered into by the leading European nations; an arrangement which was intended to insure the neutrality of all of them by preventing participation in the Spanish war by other powers.

The nations had formed a neutrality agreement which was supervised by a committee of the powers. It was agreed that there should be a blockade of Spain. German, Italian, French, English, and other nations participated, sending their warships to Spanish waters to prevent any nation





MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS COME FIRST

The emphasis in Germany is on armaments and more armaments. Here is Adolf Hitler reviewing the Nazi air force.

from sending in troops or war supplies to the Spanish factions. As a matter of fact, this arrangement was not satisfactory. French and English vessels patrolled the northern coast of Spain, while the work of patrolling the Mediterranean coast was left largely to the Italians and the Germans.

#### Face-Saving Device

Now it was along the Mediterranean coast that the troops and materials were entering from Germany and Italy. In fact, therefore, the Germans and Italians were being entrusted with the task of keeping watch upon themselves. The whole plan of enforcing neutrality was largely a face-saving device, by which the nations pretended that they were keeping foreign soldiers and airplanes and other materials out of Spain, without taking such drastic action as would have been required strictly to have enforced neutrality. The English and French would have liked to have stopped foreign participation in the Spanish war altogether, but they have been afraid all the time that if they adopted stern measures to keep out the Italians and Germans, a general war would result. So they have done the best they could, trying to bring about neutrality by agreement and by a blockade, which was not at all satisfactory.

So much for the incident which resulted from the German patrol in Mediterranean waters. This incident of itself need not lead to war. The Germans have suffered at the hands of the Spanish loyalists and have had their revenge. They may now let the matter drop. They will do so if they are not ready for war, or if for any reason they wish to avoid it. If they go on with other acts which lead to an active participation in the Spanish war, it will be because they have decided that the time has come for them to go in and to precipitate a European conflict. If, all things considered, they want to start a general war, they can easily use this incident as an excuse.

#### Germany's Internal Condition

To a neutral observer, it would appear that it would be folly for Germany to start a war, but the neutral observer does not know exactly what the internal conditions in Germany are. If Hitler and his associates decide upon war, it will probably be because conditions have become very bad in Germany and because those in authority feel that they must engage in a foreign war in order to turn the minds of the German people from their troubles and controversies at home. Many times in the history of the world, nations have gone to war as

a means of establishing internal loyalty and unity. Whether the Germans have arrived at a situation which would seem to justify such a course cannot easily be determined. We do know that recent events in Germany indicate that the people of that country are in a turmoil of discord. There are certain signs of serious internal trouble. The contest now going on between church and state in Germany is a very grave development. Possibly it has created such internal conflict and disturbance as to seem in the eyes of the German government to justify a dangerous foreign venture. It would be a mistake, therefore, to try to figure out probable decisions of the German government respecting foreign policy without taking into account the religious controversy in which the German nation is embroiled.

#### Bitter Religious Attack

With the main development in the struggle that has been going on between the Nazi government on the one hand and the Protestant and Catholic churches of Germany on the other, the readers of this paper are familiar. It is well known that the Lutheran church, which in ordinary times has commanded the allegiance of two-thirds of the German people, has been brought into subjection by the state. A section of the church has undertaken to stand up against Hitler, but without much success. The Catholics, comprising about a third of the German population, have also been attacked. Early in the Nazi regime an agreement was reached between Hitler and the Vatican, by which the state was to have full political authority, but by which the church was permitted to maintain its schools and youth organizations and its independence in all religious matters. That agreement, however, has not been kept by the German government. Catholic youth organizations have been broken up. Their leaders have been imprisoned. Their schools have been brought into subjection to the Nazis.

Hitler is determined that the Nazis shall have full control over the training of children. He will not permit any organization in the state to inspire the young with its ideals. He will break up all competing groups. "We will take away their children," he said in an address on the first of May. "These we will train and educate to become good Germans. We will not permit them to lapse into the old way of thinking, but will give them a thorough training. We will take them when they are 10 years old and bring them up in the spirit of the community until they are 18. They shall not escape us." Lately it has appeared that the German *Fuehrer* would go even further in his war on the Catholics. The Nazis charge the Catholic monks with immorality. They are carrying on immorality trials. When Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago protested against the persecution of the Catholic priests, Goebbels, the German minister of propaganda, was

thrown into a fit of rage. Catholics were threatened so bitterly that priests were warned by their superiors to stay off the streets. The significance of these immorality trials lies in the fact that the Nazis in the past have raised cries of immorality against those whom they intended to crush.

Why are the Nazis waging war against both branches of the Christian church in Germany? There are two reasons. One is that they have established in Germany an absolute dictatorship and they command the undivided loyalty of all the German people. They are extremely jealous of any organization which has any claim upon the loyalty of the people. They will brook no rivals. That is one reason. The other is that there is a direct and irreconcilable conflict between the Nazi principles and the principles of Christianity.

This conflict in German thought and ideals goes back to years preceding the Nazi regime. There has been an element in Germany which has worshipped force. It has had its philosophy and its philosophers. Nietzsche and Spengler and others have thought that the strong nation is the fighting nation. They have claimed that Christianity has always had a devitalizing and a softening influence, for Christianity is a religion of peace. It is a religion of universal brotherhood. It cries out against racial distinctions. It preaches sympathy, tenderness of heart, and good will. These are not mere offshoots of Christian teaching and philosophy. They constitute the very essence of Christian teaching.

#### Nazi Philosophy

German governments, before the time of the Nazis, have praised power and force, but not so uncompromisingly as the Nazis do. The Nazi regime is built upon force. The Nazis cannot worship the Prince of Peace. They cannot accept a religion which teaches tolerance and good will among races and peoples. They are diametrically opposed to Christianity, so directly opposed to it that they can scarcely accept even the name of it. Governments before them have got along with Christianity so long as the Christians compromised and soft-pedaled their fundamental teachings. The Nazis find it difficult to make any pretense of accepting Christianity. Hence they have talked of developing a German national religion, with the old German pagan gods holding a place alongside those of the Christian saints.

Taking into account this definite conflict between the ideas of the Nazis and the ideas of Christianity, it is not strange that the Nazis should undertake to subject the Christian churches and to substitute something else for Christianity. It can be said with assurance that the only way the Christian church can survive in Germany under the Nazis is by giving up the essentials of Christianity and retaining only the name. Some Christians are willing to do this, but others are not; hence the conflict which rends Germany today.

Hitler and his Nazis in Germany are undertaking to substitute something else for Christianity as definitely as the Communists are trying to do that same thing in Russia. The Communists are substituting a social and economic program. They

are trying to build up a national loyalty around that program. They feel that the church is a hindrance to the development of that loyalty, and so they are trying to teach the Russian people to give up their Christian religion and take communist philosophy instead. The Nazis in Germany are trying to establish a religion based upon force and power, substituting loyalty to the Nazi leaders for their loyalty to Christian ideals of justice, mercy, peace, and racial equality.

#### Complete Domination Sought

Now that the fight for religious dominance becomes clear, the gravity of Germany's internal situation is definitely indicated. Nazis are making war on the Jews. They are making war upon Communists. They have destroyed trade unionism. They are undertaking to destroy the Lutheran church and the Catholic church. The elements upon which they are making war are elements which, before the Nazi regime, embraced nearly the whole of the German population. What, then, must be the silent, fearful, unspoken attitude of the mass of the German people toward the Nazi regime? Are the Catholics, the Lutherans, the Socialists, the trade unionists, the Jews, resentful? Are large numbers of them biding their time, waiting for a sign of weakness in the forces which con-



SUICIDAL

HUNGERFORD IN PITTSBURGH POST GAZETTE

trol the army and which have guns in their hands? Or, on the other hand, have the majority of Catholics, Lutherans, Socialists, trade unionists, and Jews been converted to the new religion and the new economic philosophy and the new loyalty?

One cannot answer these questions by reading the German papers, for they are not free to express their sentiments. He cannot answer them by talking with German people, for they are afraid to criticize the government. One can only guess how the German people feel, and it is difficult to guess with any assurance. If there is widespread discontent, which is clearly possible, the German government may break forth in a foreign venture in order to arouse the patriotism of the German people and establish a new unity.

Certain immediate problems for the government of the United States have already been raised by the fighting between Germans and Spaniards. If Germany and Spain are at war, the provisions of our neutrality law should be put into effect. The shipment of arms to Germany, as well as Spain, should be forbidden. The responsibility of deciding when a state of war exists rests upon the President. Strong pressure is being exerted to induce him to declare that war is in progress between Italy and Germany on the one hand and Spain on the other. Such a declaration would bring an arms embargo with it.



LET THERE BE TANKS

The nation in arms, with every man subservient to the state, is a first principle of Nazism.

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# AROUND THE WORLD

**England:** Still adhering, as did his predecessor, to the pretense that the government which he heads is one of "national coalition" rather than purely Conservative, Neville Chamberlain, Britain's newly appointed prime minister, has now completed the formation of his cabinet. There is but slight difference between the new cabinet and that of Stanley Baldwin. The Conservative party continues to hold 15 of the 21 chief posts, with the remainder going to the Liberals and Laborites. It is intimated that in the near future there may be a more drastic revision, but for the present the changes made are primarily in the nature of a shuffle.

As chancellor of the exchequer, the position Mr. Chamberlain has himself held for six years, he appointed Sir John Simon (see page 6). The job next in rank, that of secretary of state for home affairs, has been given to Sir Samuel Hoare, who during the last year has been first lord of the admiralty. It will be recalled that Sir Samuel was foreign secretary at the outbreak of the Ethiopian war, and together with Pierre Laval, the French statesman, negotiated a treaty whereby Mussolini was to get more than half of Ethiopia even before he had conquered it. Such was the storm created in England by this proposal that Sir Samuel was forced to resign. The war over, the British gradually forgot what they earlier termed a "betrayal" and with but slight opposition he was once again appointed to the cabinet. It is the belief in informed London circles that he is now being groomed for the prime ministership and that he will succeed to that post upon the eventual retirement of Chamberlain.

Anthony Eden, the young foreign secretary, retains his job. One of the more surprising appointments is that of Alfred Duff Cooper who has been raised from the war office to the admiralty. Mr. Cooper recently outraged certain British quarters when in an address to parliament he defended bribery in the sale of munitions. Among other important appointments are president of the council, Viscount Halifax; secretary of war, Leslie Hore-Belisha; president of the board of trade, Oliver Stanley. Malcolm MacDonald, son of former prime minister Ramsay MacDonald, remains as dominions secretary.

**France:** Now that the Duke of Windsor has "at long last" been married to the former Mrs. Warfield at a chateau in France, considerable discussion, not untinted with bitterness, has taken place over the treatment which the former sovereign has received from the British government. The duke had desired that formal royal recognition be granted his engagement to the Baltimore lady, through the inclusion of an announcement in the court calendar, but this the government refused to sanction. It also refused to permit members of the royal family to attend the wedding as well as others holding official posts in the government. At the same time, it decreed that only the duke be entitled to the address "royal highness" while his wife or any children he may have enjoy no royal status. She must be content with the title of "Her Grace the Duchess of Windsor."

Certain sections of the British press have editorially objected to the unrelenting attitude of the government and the Church of England toward Edward. They charge that he was handled with a rather "rough edge." In the American press, it is pointed out that

the duke has, throughout the crisis and subsequent events, borne himself with discretion and dignity, while on the other hand the government has descended to what is described as "petty and mean revenge."

**Iceland:** If the oft-repeated statement is true that that country is most happy which figures least in the headlines, then Iceland must indeed be one of the happiest places in a world still struggling with the problems of unemployment, poverty, crime, and war. Until Colonel Lindbergh, a few years ago, set down his plane in Iceland's capital, few Americans had ever heard of Reykjavik. The arrival of the American flyer was the most exciting news to come out of that city in years, and nothing at all comparable has happened since. There is simply no news in Reykjavik, for it is a city, as Miss Norma Graves points out in the current issue of *Travel*, without a jail, without unemployment, without a police force, with no serious crime on its records in 40 years. And these conditions are typical of the whole of Iceland.

This country is about the size of Kentucky, and though only one-seventh of its land is productive, it is sufficient, together with the excellent fisheries, to keep the people moderately prosperous and wholly contented. Politically, the nation is ruled by a coalition government of the socialist and farmer parties. Though pledging fealty to King Christian of Denmark, the government is sovereign, enjoying the same status as Canada in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The name Iceland, Miss Graves emphasizes, is "a misnomer. In reality it is a land where the summer sun induces prolific growth of fruits and vegetables." It abounds in hot springs, possessing more of these than any other country, and the Icelanders use these springs both as fuel and as health resorts. Since the land is barren of trees, many of the inhabitants employ these hot springs to cultivate flower and fruit conservatories.

In nothing do the people take as much pride as in their educational system. An



DENMARK'S DEMOCRATIC KING  
King Christian, as he took his morning ride through the streets of Copenhagen, on the occasion of his silver jubilee anniversary recently.



"ICELAND'S CAPITAL, REYKJAVIK, IS A STURDY AND UNPRETENTIOUS CITY OF 30,000 PEOPLE"—Travel Magazine

altogether insignificant number of the 114,000 Icelanders are unable to read and write. The capital has excellent high schools and a university with courses in law, medicine, theology, and the arts.

**Spain:** Those who have been attempting to follow the events of the Spanish civil war in the daily newspapers, realize how the censorship of dispatches has interfered with the transmission of reliable information about the conflict. The *Baltimore Sun*, in a recent editorial, made an interesting comment on the significance of this censorship:

Beyond the additions to the old story of horror and cruelty which events in Spain foretell for future wars, we have in this relatively minor cataclysm a foretaste of the great difficulty which will undoubtedly be experienced in getting reliable information upon it. The actual facts upon the reported bombing of Hitler's pocket battleship *Deutschland* are harder to obtain than the whole story of the battle of Jutland. In spite of the vastly improved physical and organizational resources for gathering news, it is evident that the reporting of the next war will make the censorships of 1914 to 1918 appear as free and open as an old-fashioned experience meeting. We shall be told what the censors want to tell us, and it won't be any too useful. For dictatorship countries this will be only a continuation of the daily fairy tale which the citizenry has been living for years. But for countries which have been able to find most of what they want to know in the newspaper, the transition to rigid censorship is going to be less pleasant.

**The Netherlands:** In a significant by-election held last April, democratic forces in Belgium decisively defeated Leon Degrelle, leader of the Rexist, and thereby rejected the fascist political program which he imported, in modified form, from Belgium's neighbor, Germany. Another of Germany's neighbors, the Netherlands, has now passed through a political campaign where the issue was also that of fascism versus democracy; and the latter emerged victorious.

The Dutch elections were, however, much broader in scope, involving all the 100 seats in the lower chamber of the States-General, as the parliament is called. It was the first time that the Dutch National-Socialist party, with aims similar to those of the Nazis in Germany, placed candidates in the field, hoping to win a sufficient number of seats to command influence in legislation. But it succeeded in obtaining only four seats.

It is pertinent to point out that the Communists, the extremists on the Left, also suffered a rebuff, their representation being reduced from four to three members. The most impressive gain was made by the Social Democratic Labor party whose platform, moderately socialistic, advocates the peaceful nationalization of all large industries in the country and more liberal labor legislation.

**Japan:** It is now evident that when the Japanese premier, Senjuro Hayashi, made known his decision to continue in office despite the thrashing he received at the polls (*AMERICAN OBSERVER*, May 31), he scarcely foresaw the resentment which his unyielding attitude would arouse. Leaders of the Minseitō and the Seiyūkai, the two largest political parties which together control 400 of the 466 seats in the Japanese lower house, have carried out their threat of bringing the issue before the people. In a series of political meetings, where they employed disarming subtlety, they charged that it was the cabinet, rather than the political parties, which had been undermining national unity. They pointed to the fact that the cabinet's attitude alienated the people from the fighting forces when it was most important that the army, enjoying the people's support, should be in a position to continue its work of "stabilizing Eastern Asia." So successful was this attack that Premier Hayashi, together with his cabinet, was forced to resign. There thus disappears, momentarily at any rate, the danger that any Japanese cabinet will attempt to do away with constitutional government. At the time of writing, it was reported that Emperor Hirohito, with the advice of Prince Saionji, last of Japan's elder statesmen, had designated Prince Fumimaro Konoe, president of the House of Peers, to form a cabinet.

Through an editorial in his Milan newspaper, Premier Mussolini warned the Jews of Italy that if they wish to avoid expulsion from the country they must give wholehearted support to his regime, cease criticism of Nazi Germany, and avoid participation in the Zionist movement, which seeks to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It is believed that Mussolini, by his warning, wished to make a gracious gesture to both Hitler and the Arabs in Palestine.





JUSTICE STONE BECOMES THE CENTRAL FIGURE IN A MURAL

When artist Leon Kroll executed a mural painting for the Department of Justice building in Washington, he selected Justice Harlan F. Stone as the model for the central figure. The mural depicts "Law" leading the people out of the valley known as chaos, to a better land.

ACME

## Black-Connery Bill

The very important recommendations of President Roosevelt, relating to wages and hours of labor in American industry, have been embodied in bills introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Connery and in the Senate by Senator Black. The measure, known as the Black-Connery bill, a long document of something like 10,000 words, has been referred to a joint committee of the Senate and the House—the labor committees of the two bodies—and public hearings on the measure have begun.

Interest throughout the nation in a measure of such importance is, of course, pronounced. At the outset of the discussion it appears that the large corporations are not decidedly opposed to the measure. In the main, they will be unaffected, for their standards of wages and hours are in most cases as high as the proposed legislation would require. Many small concerns, however, are voicing protests such as they voiced when the NRA labor rules were in effect. Some of these small businesses claim that if they pay wages as high as this legislation would require, and operate on short hours, they cannot compete with the big business concerns.

Labor is divided on the wisdom of the bill. The American Federation of Labor appears on the whole to be unfriendly to it. The reason for this is clear enough. The A. F. of L. is composed of craft unions, or organizations of skilled workers. The workers in these skilled trades would not profit by the establishment of minimum wages, for they already receive wages above the minimum. In the main, they have been able to secure fairly short hours. Since they are skilled and hard to replace, they frequently win their demands for better conditions. Hence they have done fairly well by relying on their own efforts at collective bargaining, and they do not need legislation by the government to prevent very low wages or very long hours of labor. Not only would they not profit by such legislation, but they might be hurt by it. If companies were required to raise the wages of their lowest-paid workers—the unskilled—they might, in order to reduce their total expenses, cut the pay of the skilled workers—the workers who belong to the A. F. of L. unions.

The C. I. O. unions appear favorable to the Black-Connery proposal. The C. I. O. represents the unskilled as well as the skilled. Many of their members receive very low wages and work long hours. Such workers would profit by the establishment of minimum-wage and maximum-hour regulations by the government.

The reaction of farmers and other middle-class groups to the proposed labor legislation has not yet been indicated with clearness and certainty.

## Labor Riots

A serious strike is under way in several of the great steel companies, and clashes between strikers and policemen resulted in bloodshed and death last week in southern Chicago. Early in the spring it seemed that trouble in the steel industry might be avoided. The

United States Steel Corporation, the largest company of them all, signed an agreement with representatives of the C. I. O., recognizing the union and granting higher wages and improved working conditions. The C. I. O. was recognized as the bargaining agency for the 225,000 employees in the company. Some of the smaller steel companies followed the lead of United States Steel, but others did not. One of the large independent companies, the Jones and Laughlin, held out for a while against recognizing the C. I. O. union as the bargaining agency for its workers. But some time ago, under the supervision of the National Labor Relations Board, an election was held among the workers of that company. The workers voted by more than two to one that they wished to be represented by the C. I. O. union, and it then became the duty under the law of the Jones and Laughlin Company to deal with the C. I. O. union in making its contracts with the workers. Thereafter the Jones and Laughlin Company dealt with the C. I. O. union.

Other companies, including Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, National, and Inland, employing about 170,000 men, refused to make contracts with the C. I. O. union. These companies followed the



BANKED FIRES AND IDLENESS

The strike of workers in independent steel companies forced the closing of a number of large plants. This is one of the idle plants of the Republic Steel Company in Cleveland.

ACME

lead of United States Steel in granting higher wages, but they refused to admit that the C. I. O. union should be consulted and negotiated with in establishing wages and working conditions.

The C. I. O. union in these companies has called a strike to compel the companies to recognize them and deal with them. The union has not yet called upon the National Labor Relations Board to hold an election. Just why it has not made this request is not clear. For if it should ask for an election and if, as in the case of the Jones and Laughlin Company, a majority of the workers should select it as the bargaining agency, the companies would be forced by law to accept it as such.

About 80,000 employees of the steel com-

pany stopped work in Youngstown and around Chicago. While most of the plants were forced to close, one plant of the Republic Company near Chicago remained open under heavy police protection. And on May 30, a parade of marching strikers, 1,000 strong, came to blows with the 200 police who stood between them and the Republic buildings. The strikers claimed that they had come only to demonstrate and to show nonunion workers their strength. The police claimed that they had been attacked by the strikers. Whichever side may have been the aggressor, the fighting was violent and deaths and serious injuries resulted.

Governor Horner of Illinois then stepped in and asked the conflicting forces to hold a conference and meanwhile to call a truce in the contest.

## Golden Gate Bridge

A new engineering wonder of the world, which required four years to build, now stands completed on the shores of the Pacific. It is the Golden Gate Bridge over the entrance to San Francisco Bay. Connecting the city of San Francisco on the south with the rich farming section to the north, it is expected to accommodate over 3,000,000 vehicles a year. Within the first 12 hours after it was formally opened a few days ago, more than 100,000 people walked across it.

Built at a cost of \$35,000,000, this bridge has the largest single suspension span in the world, 4,200 feet long. The roadway, which is 220 feet above water at high tide, is hung from giant towers over 700 feet high. Approximately 100,000 tons of steel were used, most of which went into the two supporting cables. Its real strength, however, is said to lie in its flexibility. Storms from the ocean may sway the roadway as much as 21 feet out of line without any damage, while heat and cold could cause it to rise or fall 10 feet from its normal position without harm.

## Vocabulary Test

To test his students' knowledge of words, a teacher in a New York high school gave a class the following list of words to use correctly in a sentence: revere, deficit, err, formidable, corps, bade, era, decade, martyr, rout, epitome, clique, banquet, admirable, harass, grimace, and anti. He was surprised to find that many of his pupils could not use these words accurately.

Most of the incorrect answers showed that students had confused the word given with some other word spelled similarly. Some of the funniest answers were these: At a football game, boys cheer the team to "victory for their alma martyr." "The little boy was formidable of the darkness." "In a morgue one will find many corps." "The army officer was standing on the banquet to fire upon the enemy." "He washed the grimace from his hands before he sat down to eat."

Some of the other answers showed that pupils had looked the word up in a dictionary but had not understood the definition properly. One wrote: "My mother has a new clique of dishes." "After an era the girl finally kept her appointment." "The army antied the enemy."

## Steel Man

At its annual meeting held during the last week in May, the American Iron and Steel Institute elected Tom M. Girdler as its president for the coming year. The Institute is not, as the name might imply, an organization for experimental testing or research, but simply the trade association made up of all the principal steel and iron producers in the country. That Mr. Girdler should have been elected its president at this particular time is significant.

The meeting was held just as one of the biggest labor disturbances of the year was breaking out in the vicinity of Chicago, where Mr. Girdler's company, the Republic Steel Corporation, has one of its plants. In the Chicago area, 22,000 men were on strike, including some of the workers in the Republic plant. The

rioting on May 30, in which three men were killed and many more were injured, took place when strikers from other plants attempted to stop work in Mr. Girdler's establishment. The opposition of the president to unionism has been known for some time, and three years ago he is said to have remarked that he would prefer to retire from business rather than have anything to do with unions.

Another significant point about Mr. Girdler's election to the presidency of the institute is the fact that he is the first independent, or representative of one of the smaller steel companies, or companies not allied with U. S. Steel, to occupy that post since 1908. The Republic Steel Corporation, of which he is president, was organized by him in 1930, when



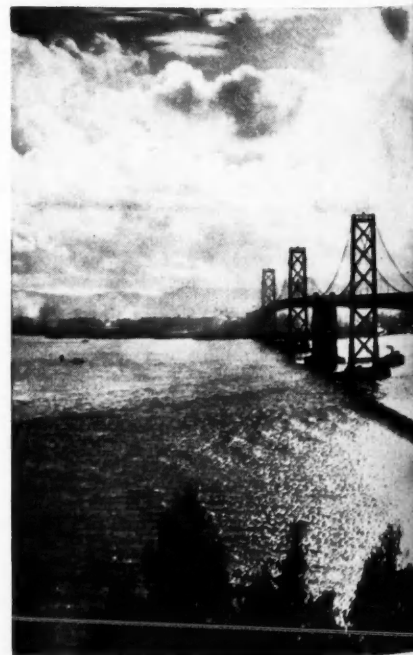
THE BETTER WAY  
REICHOLD IN PITTSBURGH PRESS

he left the Jones and Laughlin Company to create a strong organization of many small and even bankrupt steel producers. Foreseeing that the future of steel is not in heavy structural steel such as was used in railroad building, but rather in light steel for automobile bodies and household uses, he has made Republic Steel the third largest producer in the country.

## Wood Ticks

May and June are the open season for ticks, and ticks are the carriers of two dangerous diseases, Rocky Mountain spotted fever and tularemia, or rabbit fever. Each year, a few cases of these diseases are found, in the East, caused by tick bites. The bite of a tick may have no serious effects, but again, just as mosquitoes frequently carry disease, ticks may bring infection with one of these sicknesses.

Campers are warned by experts to clear



THE NEWLY COMPLETED SAN



# te United States

## e Doing, Saying, and Thinking

way old leaves and twigs on the ground around place their camp sites, for ticks thrive on the blood of field mice which live in soft underbrush. Those who have dogs running loose in the woods should dust the animals with derris powder, which not only kills ticks but discourages them from attaching themselves to the dog. This precaution may save the life of some person who might have been bitten by a tick carrying one of these strange fevers.

### Mapping Alaska

At about the same time that Russian scientists startled the world with their successful establishment of an observation station at the North Pole, the United States Geological

or night, since daylight is almost continuous there, fog and frequent rains will make their task more difficult.

### Boulder Dam

Lake Mead, the great reservoir created by Boulder Dam on the Colorado River, has now filled to a depth which will permit the production of power at what had been fixed as the permanent rate for the Boulder Dam power plant—about 24 million kilowatt hours per month. Generation of power started last September, but there was as yet insufficient water piled up in Lake Mead to permit the generation of as much power as was planned. Now that spring melting and spring rains have raised the flow of the Colorado River to a moderate flood stage, the lake behind the dam has been filling at the rate of over a foot and a half a day. The present surface of Lake Mead, which is 105 miles long, is 81,200 square acres in extent.

Up to this time, those who have been buying power from Boulder Dam have paid only half a mill per kilowatt hour, but the power plant has taken no responsibility for the continuity of power generated. Now that Lake Mead has filled, power will be guaranteed and it will be sold for 1.63 mills a kilowatt hour. From this one source, the government expects a revenue of \$1,500,000 this year. In coming years, when all contracting power companies have established power lines connecting their systems to the new plant, revenue from the sale of current will be even greater.

### Durkeeville

In Jacksonville, Florida, the Public Works Administration has started selecting tenants to occupy the tenth of its model housing developments, a unit of apartment buildings which will house 215 families. Like other PWA housing experiments, "Durkeeville," as it is called, was constructed in order to demonstrate to city and state authorities all over the country the advantages of low-rental housing. Jacksonville was chosen as one site for this demonstration work because a large proportion of its people live in crowded, unsanitary quarters which are a menace to the health and safety of the whole city.

The new apartments will cost the tenants no more than most of them are now paying for old houses, for rents will average about \$3.82 per week for a three-room apartment. To make sure that only those families are admitted which cannot afford to rent adequate housing in privately owned buildings, each family will be required to show that the combined income of all employed members is not more than five times the rental charged in Durkeeville.

To guard against overcrowding in the new buildings, only two persons will be allowed to occupy each bedroom, and only one may be allowed to use a living room for a sleeping room. That is, a three-room apartment would normally be assigned to not more than three persons, excepting children under two years of age.

### Tax Evasions

When Roswell Magill became undersecretary of the treasury last January, businessmen pricked up their ears, remembering that at Columbia Professor Magill was known for his studies of tax administration. Now it appears that he was called to Washington to direct a study of tax evasion, which has just been completed.

Using the recent proceedings against Messrs. Raskob and DuPont as an example of how rich men avoid payment of taxes, President Roosevelt has sent a message to Congress asking for a complete investigation of similar practices. Some tax evasion, the President says, is unquestionably illegal, and against taxpayers who have actually violated the law, the government intends to proceed through the courts or the Board of Tax Appeals. In this way an additional \$100,000,000 may be collected. But other tax evasion is technically



THE TOWNSHIP OF SANDWICH ON CAPE COD

"The Sandwich Common has all the repose of a village green in England. The church, the town hall, the museum, the antique shop, and the lawyer's office are all grouped sedately under the shelter of gigantic trees." (From a photograph by Samuel Chamberlain in "Cape Cod in the Sun.")

legal. Wealthy men have incorporated their families and paid salaries to children or, in one case, incorporated a yacht—all to avoid payment of taxes. To stop this kind of "moral evasion" of taxes, the President has asked Congress to pass new legislation after a thorough investigation of these practices.

Unless the President especially asks for quick passage, it is not likely that this subject will come up for legislation at this session, although there may be some spectacular hearings. The message on tax evasion has also started some congressmen to talking about new taxes, but since many congressmen must stand for reelection next year, they will be glad to avoid this controversial issue, if possible.

## NEW BOOKS

### Politics in France

Alexander Werth has for many years been the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, a position which has afforded him an excellent opportunity to observe, with detachment, the course of French national life. But it is more than experience which he



EWING GALLOWAY

FRANCE—ALPINE PASTORAL

Far from the scene of political struggle and economic discontent described in Alexander Werth's "Which Way France?"

brings to his volume, "Which Way France?" (New York: Harpers. \$3). He brings also a clear, lucid mind, an occasional wit, precise scholarship, and a comprehensive grasp of international affairs.

The fact that he gives only the most meager answer to the question implied in his title does not really detract from the value of the book. Having watched French politics for so long a time, he is only too keenly aware of the pitfalls awaiting the observer turned prophet. Politics in present-day France are extremely complicated, and the author is largely content with tracing its course from 1932 to the present day. His account of the rise of the Popular Front is the most thorough that has yet appeared in this country. If any criticism is to

be offered, it is that Mr. Werth tends to place somewhat too much emphasis upon the purely political struggle in the country. His volume might have been made even more valuable had the author delved more fundamentally into the economic problems which in part occasioned the Popular Front movement.

### Cape Cod

Cape Cod is that unique part of New England which has achieved particular fame as a vacationer's paradise. Each summer increasing numbers of people flock to this peculiarly shaped strip of land, extending like a crooked elbow out into the Atlantic, in search of peace, pleasure, and cooling sea breezes.

Because of its popularity Cape Cod is a place about which much has been written. Myriad books, maps, guides, and descriptive folders are at hand to acquaint any prospective visitor with all he needs or wants to know about Cape Cod and about the Cape Codders.

But while the Cape is an especially well-documented part of the United States, it appears that it has not been thoroughly photographed. If so, that deficiency has been more than made up by the publication of a beautiful book, alluringly entitled, "Cape Cod in the Sun" (New York: Hastings House. \$3.75). The author is Samuel Chamberlain, distinguished etcher and photographer, who obviously has a great love for New England. Mr. Chamberlain has roamed with his camera from one end of the Cape to the other, and has returned with a collection of pictures of houses, small towns, lighthouses, windmills, sand dunes, sailboats, and stretches of beach and sea, all gleaming in the light of early morning or late afternoon sun. The photographs are accompanied by brief comments which help to make the whole an unusually satisfying work of art.

### Neutrality

The formulas for keeping the United States out of the next war are almost as numerous as the panaceas for economic depression. Most of them are not clearly thought out and do not merit serious consideration. One of the most forthright and intelligent works on the subject of neutrality is "Neutrality for the United States," by Borchard and Lage (New Haven: Yale University Press. \$3.50). In these times, especially, every public-spirited citizen would do well to read this book and to meditate over its central thesis.

The central thesis is that the United States is likely to become embroiled in a war because it refuses to steer a strictly neutral course—a policy which "finds its source in candor, in the obligation to hold the scales even, to remain a friend to both belligerents, to lend support to neither, to avoid passing judgment on the merits of their war. It assures both belligerents that they are dealing with a friend, not a disguised enemy." The United States government did not steer such a course during the years 1914-1917, but took sides. Messrs. Borchard and Lage believe that the present neutrality legislation will have a similar result in the next war and will inevitably land us in the thick of the fray.



"WAS THERE SOME TALK ABOUT OVERCROWDED DOCKETS?"  
HERBLOCK IN PONCA CITY (OKLA.) NEWS

any to survey announced that this summer two men will go to unmapped parts of Alaska to make detailed survey of mineral resources and topography. No part of Alaska lies within the Arctic Circle, and the region to which these geologists are going is not an endless field of snow and ice but a rocky plateau, barren for the most part, but sometimes covered by grass and moss. Here, to the south of Goodnews Bay, the men hope to locate and chart deposits of valuable minerals—especially gold and platinum.

Although the use of airplanes has greatly improved transportation in these thinly populated areas, still the men will travel for two weeks from Seattle in order to reach their destination. Once there, they will live in tents and hunt whatever fowl they can shoot, what fish they can catch, or reindeer meat purchased from wandering Eskimos. Although they will be able to work at almost any time of the day



YED SAN CO-OAKLAND BAY BRIDGE

WIDE WORLD



## Personalities in the News

### Sir John Simon

Sir John Simon has been appointed by the new British prime minister as his chancellor of the exchequer. Since this office is next in rank to the premiership and is regarded as a stepping-stone to that office, it might be supposed that Sir John is being groomed to succeed Prime Minister Chamberlain upon the latter's retirement. But this appears unlikely, since Simon is a Liberal, while the government is Conservative.

Simon's family is remotely related to British royalty. Though Sir John is himself moderately prosperous, his parents just managed to make a comfortable living. His father and five uncles were all Congregational ministers, but Sir John had no inclination for the church, and so, upon entering Oxford University, he trained himself for the law. According to John Gunther, author of "Inside Europe," Simon is generally recognized as the "greatest lawyer in modern England." Before he had reached the age of 40, he had been appointed solicitor-general, the youngest man to occupy that office in 200 years.

Simon has been identified with many phases of British public life. For three years he devoted himself, without pay, to making an exhaustive inquiry into the political problems of India. During the crisis occasioned by Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931, he was British foreign minister and it is with respect to his services in this job that Gunther, after noting that Simon is the "greatest lawyer in modern England" hastens to add "and the worst foreign minister." His enemies claim that Simon's handling of that situation weakened the League of Nations.

### Ramsay MacDonald

No British statesman in recent history has had a more checkered career than Ramsay MacDonald, who has now retired from active political life. He has had a more than normal meed of both praise and bitter censure. Mr. MacDonald was born of humble Scottish parents 70 years ago. His boyhood was a constant struggle against poverty, and at the age of 14 he was forced to leave school in order to earn a living. Arriving in London, he succeeded in getting a job as a clerk at a salary of less than \$3 a week. But even then he had an eye upon making a place for himself in the world. At night, returning from work, he would go to a room stacked high with books on science and economics.

As he grew older he interested himself in the British labor movement and was soon elected to the House of Commons. There he distinguished himself for his championing of the labor cause, for his denunciation of the World War and for his open support of the Russian revolution in 1917. In 1923, as leader of the labor forces in parliament, he was appointed prime minister. He was to hold that post in four cabinets.

When England faced a financial crisis in 1931, he led the movement for a coalition government. Though national in name, it was in fact Conservative and his Labor colleagues never forgave MacDonald for what they regarded as a betrayal of their cause. Following the elections in 1935, he retired from the premiership, retaining only the purely honorary

post of lord president of the council. He has now been offered an earldom, with a seat in the House of Lords, but feeling that that would endanger the political future of his son, Malcolm, he has refused to accept it.

### Hugo Black

Senator Hugo Black, of Alabama, is perhaps best known as an investigator. A year ago he was in charge of a special Senate committee to investigate the lobbying activities of the big corporations, and of the utility companies in particular. Earlier in the New Deal he gained wide publicity as the leader of an investigation into the way in which ocean and air-mail contracts had previously been awarded. But it now seems that in the future his name is most likely to be associated with the cause of labor legislation. It is he who has introduced in the Senate the President's proposed bill to set up new standards for wages and

hours of labor, a bill which to a large extent is based upon a measure he has been suggesting to Congress year after year without previous success. Known as a consistent champion of organized labor, Senator Black early in the depression began urging the establishment of a 30-hour workweek in order to spread employment. His plan was rejected four years ago in favor of the NRA. Today with modifications and additions it has been revived.

Before becoming a senator, Hugo Black lived a quiet and an inconspicuous life. After finishing law school at the state university, he returned to the small town where he had grown up, but soon afterward moved to Birmingham. Here he served a short term as a police judge and for two years was county attorney. After a period of service in the war, he reentered the general practice of law and was elected to the Senate in 1927. Actively supported in his first campaign by the Ku Klux Klan, Senator Black was expected to fill his position as an inconspicuous conservative. Instead, he has become an aggressive and outspoken liberal.

### Harry F. Byrd

Whenever a government economy campaign gets under way, one of its most active supporters is certain to be Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. A few days ago he asked the Resettlement Administration to abandon its plans for a million-dollar project in his own state because, in his opinion, it would be a waste of money. Earlier in the year, he presented a plan for reorganizing the various federal agencies and departments in such a way as to reduce greatly the present cost of government. Based largely on a report of the Brookings Institution, his plan was rejected by administration leaders in favor of a less drastic reorganization proposal submitted by a special government commission. Neither of them has yet been acted on, however.

Senator Byrd's interest in government economy and efficiency developed largely out of his experiences in the state government of Virginia. A member of the legislature for eight years and governor for one four-year term, he was an active leader in the movement which during the past 10 years has given his state what is certainly one of the most efficient local governments anywhere in America.



W. W.  
SIR JOHN SIMON



H. & E.  
RAMSAY  
MACDONALD



H. & E.  
HUGO BLACK



W. W.  
HARRY F. BYRD



(FROM A STUDY BY EDWARD MILLMAN FOR A MURAL IN THE LOBBY OF THE MOLINE, ILLINOIS, POST OFFICE. COURTESY ART IN FEDERAL BUILDING.)

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### The Struggle for Better Working Conditions

THE present attempts on the part of labor and the Roosevelt administration to reduce the length of the working week and to establish minimum wages constitute but a chapter in a long struggle which began back in colonial times. Skimming through the history books, one finds that it has been an uphill climb, for attempts to improve the lot of the working classes have always met with stiff opposition. The pages of history are filled with prophecies of disaster which followed proposals to shorten the working day to 12 hours, 10 hours, and later eight hours. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine the deplorable conditions under which the average workman lived during the early years of our national history. We find a graphic description by McMaster in his "History of the People of the United States":

#### Living Conditions Around 1800

... it was only by the strictest economy that a mechanic kept his children from starvation and himself from jail. In the low and dingy rooms which he called his home were wanting many articles of adornment and of use now to be found in the dwellings of the poorest of his class. Sand sprinkled on the floor did duty as a carpet. There was no glass on his table, there was no china in his cupboard, there were no prints on his wall. What a stove was he did not know, coal he had never seen, matches he had never heard of. . . . He rarely tasted fresh meat as often as once in a week, and paid for it a much higher price than his posterity. Everything, indeed, which ranked as a staple of life was very costly. . . .

If the food of an artisan would now be thought coarse, his clothes would be thought abominable. A pair of yellow buckskin or leathern breeches, a checkered shirt, a red flannel jacket, a rusty felt hat cocked up at the corners, shoes of neat's-skin set off with huge buckles of brass, and a leathern apron, comprised his scanty wardrobe. . . .

At the turn of the nineteenth century, only one-tenth of the population was engaged in industry, the other nine-tenths earning its livelihood in agriculture. Wages were abominably low, the average for unskilled labor being probably no more than 50 cents a day. "During the summer, when the sun rose early," McMaster tells us, "every cobbler, every carpenter, mason, stone-cutter, every laboring man, was hard at work at four o'clock in the morning," and work continued until, "according to the almanac, the sun had set." Children as young as six or seven were hard at work in the mills and factories, working from 11 to 14 hours a day. Often they were whipped or sprinkled with water in order to be kept awake. In the 1820's about half the employees of the New England cotton mills were children, condemned to ill-ventilated, ill-lighted, and generally unsanitary factories, usually from sunrise to sunset.

There was precious little the workers could do to improve their lot. Blacklisting was a widespread practice, which made it

dangerous for the worker to seek to improve his lot through organization, although labor unions did appear on the scene during this period. The laboring class could not seek redress through political action, for politics was controlled by the employers. Whenever the demand was made for an improvement in working conditions, the workers were properly put in their place. Thus when Boston carpenters struck for the 10-hour day, in 1825, their action was referred to by employers as "a departure from the salutary and steady usages which have prevailed in this city, and all New England, from time immemorial." It would open a "wide door for idleness and vice," and destroy the conditions by which the working classes were "made happy and prosperous by frugal, orderly, temperate, and ancient habits."

It was in 1835 that a campaign for the 10-hour day swept the country. There were parades in the cities, with banners calling for the working day "from six to six." President Van Buren ordered that all workers on government construction projects be "required to work only the number of hours prescribed by the 10-hour system." Legislative action on the part of the states was largely ineffective, because it was either not enforced or contained so many loopholes through which employers could escape. It was public opinion which gradually forced better conditions, although the 10-hour day was not generally prevalent until after the Civil War.

#### Gains Since 1900

It is estimated that by 1899, the average hours of work were nine and a half. The World War brought the greatest gains in the shortening of the workweek, as evidenced by the fact that in 1914, only slightly more than a tenth of all workers had the 48-hour week, whereas in 1919, nearly half of them worked only that number of hours. As for wages, there are few reliable statistics in the prewar period. Moreover, money wages themselves are meaningless, unless adjusted to the cost of living. That the American worker did make great gains in real wages during the first decades of the present century is an indisputable fact. Between 1900 and 1925, the average annual income of the American worker is estimated to have risen 25 per cent. Despite these gains, wages have never been high enough to enable any but the most favored groups of workers to live under conditions of health and decency.



DAVID S. MUZZEY





The proposed wage-and-hour law. Would it place too much power in the hands of one board? Would its effects be beneficial or detrimental?

THESE three imaginary students will meet each week on this page to talk things over. The same characters will continue from week to week. We believe that readers of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER will find it interesting to follow these discussions week by week and thus to become acquainted with the three characters. Needless to say, the views expressed on this page are not to be taken as the opinions of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

**John:** I have been thinking and reading a great deal about the proposed hour-and-wage legislation which was discussed in last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. Frankly, I am afraid of such a measure. It seems to me that the dangers inherent in it are as great, if not greater, than those of the old NRA. In the first place, the Black-Connery bill, which carries out the President's recommendations, delegates so much power to the five-man board as to make it a virtual dictator of wages and hours. It can decide upon whatever minimum wages and maximum hours that it sees fit, and can compel employers to put them into effect, holding the threat of fines and imprisonment over the heads of violators. All our traditional liberties will have been destroyed, and we will be living under an American form of fascism.

**Mary:** John, I wish you would stop seeing everything in terms of European conditions. You seem to think that every time the federal government seeks to improve social conditions through legislation, it is destroying some fundamental liberty and we are on the road to fascism. Too many people nowadays make that mistake. They use such labels to create fear and thus prevent clear thinking on the problems.

**John:** I'm not merely using labels in this case, Mary. Why, just look at the bill! Let me read what Dorothy Thompson, one of our clear-thinking writers, has to say about the proposed measure:

The Congress and the President are incapable of framing legislation to cover so complex and difficult a matter, and one so loaded with dynamite. If they accept this bill, they admit it. They propose instead an enabling act which will set roughly an objective: a 40-cent-an-hour wage and a 40-hour week. And then they prepare to turn the whole matter over to a commission of five who presumably will be endowed by some miracle with greater powers of brain and character than they have themselves, and give this commission blanket authority to do what it pleases. And if you don't like what it pleases to do, you can go to jail and pay a fine.

The huge, the colossal, the tragic joke in this whole performance is that the working men and women of America may be seduced into supporting this plan to put the control of their economic destinies into the hands of five superhuman individuals!

**Charles:** As a general rule I read Miss Thompson's articles in the New York Herald Tribune and find them reasonable,



"NOW ME"

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

although I do not always agree with her views. In this case, I am inclined to believe that she is seeing red where it does not exist. Why, look at the record of other governmental agencies, some of which have been in existence half a century. Can it be said, for example, that the Interstate Commerce Commission has destroyed our basic liberties! And yet, that commission of men has considerable power over the railroads. It can compel them to lower their rates when it sees fit. The Federal Trade Commission has considerable authority over American industry, and few would accuse it of abusing its authority. Other agencies have control over the radio companies, over the stock exchange, and over other private businesses, and yet not one, so far as I know, has destroyed our American liberties. There is no reason to believe that the proposed Labor Standards Board would abuse its power. The bill specifically provides that hearings shall be held before decisions are reached and further that the whole question shall be considered as scientifically as possible.

**Mary:** It seems to me that the true purpose of this measure is being overlooked. It is not to overhaul the entire industrial system by inaugurating revolutionary changes, but rather to establish minimum labor standards for workers. This main purpose is clearly recognized by *The New Republic*, which states editorially in a recent issue: "The whole idea is not that laws of this kind can establish general gains for labor, or that they can lead the way into new territory, but merely that they can help to bring the more backward sections of industry into line with the gains already made elsewhere. This is an ex-



BABES IN THE WOODS

ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

tremely useful, but not revolutionary, activity. It is far from accomplishing the ambitious aim of abolishing unemployment and raising the level of living throughout the country. It works slowly, moderately, and in a piecemeal fashion. Those who hope that by passing a law to raise wages and shorten hours we can suddenly achieve the best potentialities of modern technology and usher in a regime of plenty are certain to be disappointed."

**Charles:** As a matter of fact, Mary, most of the large industries are already complying with the standards contemplated by the law. The greater part of American industry now adheres to the 40-hour week be altered by the new law. But it is precisely because there is a small minority of employers who underpay their workers and keep them employed for excessive hours that a national law is necessary. This bill does not strike at American industry in general, but merely at concerns which and the 40-cent-an-hour wage rate. There would be probably no more than 1,000,000 workers whose working conditions would

are operating under sweatshop conditions.

**John:** But you must remember that a large number of these concerns cannot afford to pay higher wages and to reduce the hours of work. Remember the plight of the small businessman under the old NRA. He felt the pinch of the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions. Many a small concern was pushed to the wall as a result. The same thing is certain to happen under the new law.

**Mary:** I see that you have not read the law, John, for it clearly gives the board the power to make adjustments for special conditions. This is one reason why the board is given considerable leeway and why the whole law is extremely flexible.

**John:** All that may be true, but what about the effect of the proposed law on prices? If wages are increased by law, we may be sure that employers will not take the increased cost out of their own pockets. They will pass it on to the consumers, and the workers will be no better off if their



GALA DAY

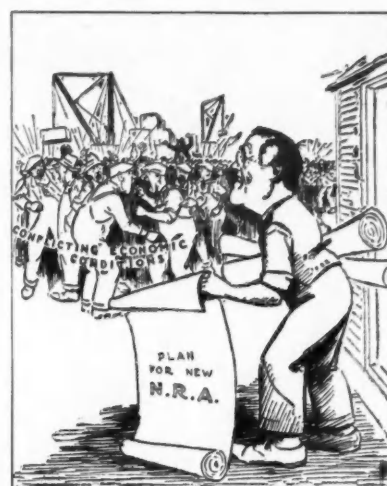
HUTTON IN PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

dollars buy fewer of the necessities of life as a result of increased prices. As Walter Lippmann so clearly put it the other day, "What the law gives by fiat, the high cost of living takes back when the wages are spent."

**Charles:** That argument is frequently raised by opponents of the measure, and there may be a certain basis for it. I personally am inclined to question its validity. I see no reason why legislation against very low wages should have a direct effect on prices. I said a few minutes ago that most industries were complying with the requirements, and they certainly would not have to raise prices. The minority of employers, who now pay very low wages, would be affected by the legislation. They would have to raise wages and they might try to raise prices to meet the higher costs of production, but would they be able to get away with it? Would they be able to sell their goods, when their competitors sold for less? It is far from certain that the predicted price increase would follow the enactment of this law.

**Mary:** I think everyone will admit that certain difficulties will arise and that there will be problems to solve. It is quite certain, for example, that a minimum weekly wage of \$16 for domestic help could not be paid by families of moderate incomes and that the extension of the minimum-wage provision to that field would result in widespread unemployment. But there is no reason to believe that the law would apply to domestic help. Naturally, much will depend upon the wisdom and ability of the members of the board. But, if we may judge from the record of other governmental regulatory boards, American industry has nothing to fear from the establishment of a new agency of this kind. For the first time, we would have order and a certain amount of decency and fair play in our industries.

**John:** I see that I have the two of you against me, but you have failed to alter my original views. I think you are both a little naïve in not taking into account the tragic possibilities of a law such as this. I hope I am wrong in my forebodings.



ANOTHER TOWER OF BABEL?

MARCUS IN NEW YORK TIMES

## SMILES

Little Mary: "Mother, they are going to teach us domestic science at school now."

Mother: "Don't you mean domestic science?"

Father: "There is a bare hope our little girl means what she is saying."

—BOSTON TRANSCRIPT

Willoby: "Jonesby, do you know that woman across the street?"

Jonesby: "She certainly looks familiar. Let me see, now. It's my wife's dress, my daughter's new hat, and my mother-in-law's parasol. . . . Sure! It's our cook!"

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

A man's lifetime habits, it is said, are formed while he is too young to know any better. Many a man who starts out as a baby by trying to put his foot in his mouth spends the rest of his life trying to make ends meet.

—HOUGHTON LINE

There had been several earthquake shocks in a certain district. So a married couple sent their little boy to an uncle who lived out of the danger zone.

A few days later they received this telegram: "Am returning your boy. Send earthquake."

—ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Dentist: "You needn't open your mouth any wider. When I pull your tooth I expect to stand outside."

—TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

"If the Dean doesn't take back what he said to me this morning, I am going to leave college."

"What did he say?"

"He told me to leave college."

—COLUMBIA JESTER

Mr. Jones found some holes in his stockings and asked his wife: "Why haven't you mended these?"

"Did you buy that coat you promised me?"

"No-o," he replied.

"Well, then, if you don't give a wrap I don't give a darn."

—ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

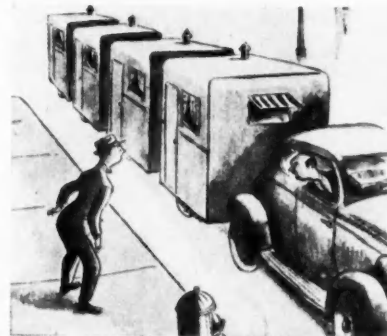
"Whatever the outcome of the trial," said the defendant, "I am certain that this experience will make a better man of me."

"In what way?" asked the judge.

"In striving to live up to the speech made by my counsel," was the reply.

—LOUISVILLE COURIER

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Almeria (al-may-ree'a), Reykjavik (ray'kya-veek), Deutschland (doyt'shland), Goebbels (gu'bels—u as in burn), Léon Degrelle (lay-on' duh-grel—o as in go), Senjuro Hayashi (sen-joo'ro hah-yah'-shee), Minseito (min-say'to), Seiyukai (say-you-ki—i as in ice), Saionji (si-on'jee—i as in ice), Hirohito (hee-ro-hee'to).



"MY WIFE'S FAMILY HAS COME TO LIVE WITH US!"

I. ROIR IN SATURDAY EVENING POST



# The Perennial Battle Over Relief

(Concluded from page 1)

upon the regions in which they are employed, the cost of living in these regions, and the particular kind of work they do.

The projects will be managed by local administrators, by men who live in the various communities, but supervision will be by the Works Progress Administration, with headquarters in Washington. An essential part of the program is its flexibility. Congress will not prescribe in advance what kinds of projects shall be carried on. That will be a matter for negotiation between local authorities and the WPA authorities in Washington. Projects will be selected which will not call for a great deal of material. This will mean that most of the money which is appropriated will be used for labor and not supplies. Furthermore, projects will be selected which do not require a great deal of skilled labor, unemployment being chiefly among the unskilled and not the skilled. It may be expected that not much of this money will be used, for example, in building bridges, for skilled workers must be employed in large numbers in the building of bridges, and the skilled workers are not so greatly in need of jobs. There will be more work in the building of playgrounds and swimming pools and so on.

## Many-Sided Debate

Such, in brief outline, is the President's plan. Objection to it comes from several different quarters, and many motives, good and bad, are at work among the objectors. In the first place, we find the economy advocates, who feel that the total amount which is to be spent for relief is too large. One of the contests, therefore, hinges on



THAT TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE PERMANENT RIGHT ALONG  
DARLING IN N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

the question of whether the sum to be used for relief shall be the billion and a half which the President requests, or less than that. A strong group in Congress would slash the sum to a billion dollars.

Among these economizers are different elements. Some of them are interested primarily in saving money for the government. They are greatly impressed by the danger of continued borrowing, and they are equally impressed by the danger and inconvenience of increased taxation. Hence they want to save. Some of them are more interested in the government's saving money than they are in the plight of the unemployed. There are men in Congress and out of it who would not worry very much if they knew that several hundred thousand people were out of work, out of food, and without adequate clothing. They would not worry about human suffering so long as those who suffer were taking it lying down, were not engaging in riots and causing any disturbance. Other economizers are humane and recoil from the thought of human suffering, but they believe conscientiously that private industry is taking on workers so rapidly that the number of unemployed will soon be greatly cut down. They think that a billion dollars is adequate to relieve actual

distress. Still others believe that the states, cities, and counties should take over an increasing part of the relief burden and that the federal government should gradually get out of the business.

## Distribution of Funds

Now we come to another of the contests upon which congressional debates are centering. This is the question of whether or not the President and his agencies should have a free hand in distributing the relief funds. Objection to that part of the President's plan by which he would be given such freedom comes from three sources:

(a) There are a good many persons in and out of Congress who think it unwise for the executive to have such sweeping powers. They do not accuse the President of misuse of the powers of the past. Some of them concede that in time of great emergency the executive should be free to spend great sums of money as he sees fit for relief or recovery. But they say that the emergency has now passed, that we are dealing not with a temporary problem, but with a permanent problem of relief, and that Congress should assert its authority and should determine how money should be spent.

(b) There are a considerable number who believe not only that the executive should be denied the right to distribute relief money freely as a matter of principle but also as a matter of expediency. These people say that the President and his agencies have misused their powers. They have, it is argued, poured money into particular states or regions in order to win political favor. They have ladled out relief with a view to obtaining patronage or political support. In order to check such practices, it is argued, Congress should designate the way relief money should be spent. It should appropriate a certain sum for road-building, other sums for flood control, and still other sums for public building. But it should not dump a billion and a half dollars into the President's lap, giving him the privilege of directing its use without let or hindrance.

(c) There are a number of congressmen who are selfish in their insistence that Congress shall "earmark" the relief funds, specifying the projects to which the money shall go. Some of the congressmen have made backstage arrangements with administrative officials. They are assured that if, for example, a certain part of the funds should be used for road-building, a considerable part of them will be spent in their own districts. These congressmen are out for their own gain and the gain of their districts, rather than for economy and efficiency. Perhaps the number of these "pork barrel" congressmen is small, but they are a factor in the situation.

Back of all these protests there is a murmur of disapproval throughout the nation. In every community one finds individuals who protest against the way relief money is being spent. Many of these protests are vague. There is a



THE GREAT STONE FACE  
CARGILL ROCKFORD (ILL.) PAPER

general impression that too much money is being spent, that people are on relief who should not be, that some who are employed at work relief could get jobs in private industry if they wanted to, but they prefer to work for the government and so refuse private employment. There are complaints that useless projects are being carried on by the government and that the work is being done wastefully. It is hard to tell what proportion of the voters engage in these murmurings. At any rate, the protests are to be heard everywhere.

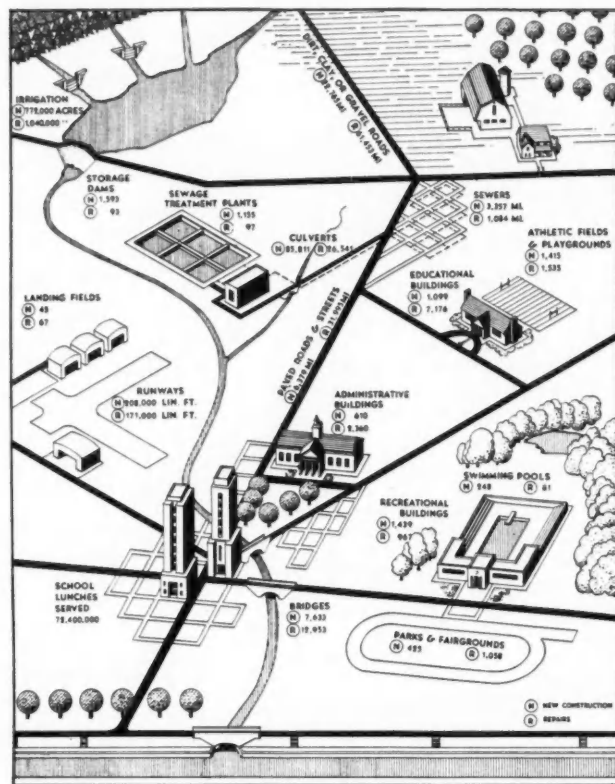
The President's friends in and out of Congress naturally have answers to the complaints and the protests. When it is alleged that the total amount being spent for relief is too large, they are able to give proof that in many cities there is still much suffering. A disinterested and nonpolitical survey in the city of Washington proves quite conclusively that there are several thousand families which are actually suffering. The local government gives relief to persons who are unemployed. But there are several thousand employables, persons who are able to work and who want work relief, but who cannot get it. These families are going without adequate food. As a result, there is much sickness among them, especially among the children. They are living in crowded quarters. They are subsisting on charity and on charity which is inadequate. The picture of distress in Washington is appalling, despite the money which is being spent for direct relief by the local government and the money which is being spent by the federal government for work relief. Possibly the situation is worse in Washington than in most cities, but the evidence is overwhelming to the effect that at present there are hundreds of thousands of families in desperate condition and without adequate help.

On the other points the facts are harder to obtain. The evidence is conflicting. That there has been a considerable amount of favoritism in selecting relief projects and deciding where they shall be carried on is undoubtedly true. Whether there would be less favoritism or more if Congress should undertake to decide more definitely what should be done with the relief money is a question which is difficult to answer.

## Conflicting Evidence

Friends of the President's plan argue that if Congress should specify the work to be undertaken, many heavy projects would be decided upon, projects like bridge building and the erection of public buildings, and that these would call for the spending of a large part of the relief funds for materials. Hence less would be available for the relief work of unskilled laborers who need it most.

On the point that the relief program which has been followed causes many people to prefer relief to private employment, the evidence is conflicting. Unquestionably there are people on relief, that is, people employed by the government, who could find private jobs if they wanted them. On the other hand, it is a fact that many



WPA'S DEFENSE  
This drawing of "selected accomplishments on WPA projects through September 15, 1936" has been published by the Works Progress Administration to show graphically the work it is doing  
COURTESY WPA

persons who now have relief work found it very difficult to obtain such work. They had to wait through agonizing weeks to get relief jobs. Sometimes they are offered private employment at jobs which may be temporary. They are afraid to take these private jobs lest they may soon find themselves out of work again and may have a hard time to get back on relief work.

All things considered, it is fair to say of the relief program that it is tremendously complex, that there is no easy solution of it, and that those who find a very easy and simple answer to all the problems as to what should be done are probably wrong in their answers. It is easy to see how honest, conscientious, and well-informed persons should disagree relative to the proper plans of relief. Out of the debates on the best procedure a sound permanent policy may be worked out, provided prejudice and partisanship are subordinated to candid investigation and to public-spirited purposes.

## NEW USES FOR COTTON

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, which during the early years of its existence paid out hundreds of millions of dollars in an attempt to reduce the size of American farm crops, has recently created a fund to be used in experiments to find new uses for cotton. Among the purposes for which it is believed cotton can be economically utilized are the following:

1. As a protective covering for young trees.
2. As a covering on highway cuts and fills to prevent landslides.
3. As reinforcing material on airport runways.
4. As an insulation material in buildings.
5. As reinforcing material to prevent crumbling in hard-surface drainage or irrigation ditches.
6. As a protective netting over growing vegetables and fruits.

To determine whether or not cotton can become a valuable construction material, it is planned to use it, chemically treated, as roofing and siding on some buildings soon to be constructed by the Forest Service. Already experiments have demonstrated that cotton fabric can be used as a binder in road construction. It is hoped that eventually enough new uses will be created to absorb what, in many years, is an unsalable cotton surplus.